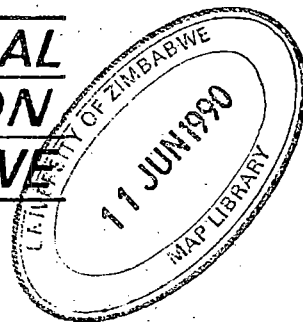


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THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED

HARARE SUBURBS THREE YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

by

R.A. Heath
University of Zimbabwe

Between August and October 1983, a survey was undertaken within selected suburbs of Harare, as part of a national survey on the use of outdoor recreational areas in Zimbabwe (Heath, 1986). Although the research project was specifically concerned with outdoor recreational patterns, a certain amount of socio-economic data was collected as part of the exercise and it is of interest to investigate the socio-economic characteristics of sectors of the city in order to ascertain to what extent government policies had succeeded in improving the lot of the majority of Zimbabweans shortly after independence.

In terms of the national sampling strategy, it was decided to administer 2 523 questionnaires in Harare. Based on the 1982 population census figure for the city of 656 011, this would provide a sample of approximately 0,038% of the total population. In the event, 2 465 questionnaires were actually returned providing a sample of 0,0376% of the total population and a return of 97,7% on the questionnaires allocated.

The sample was stratified into high, medium and low income groups, as income was assumed to be a fundamental constraint upon the nature of recreational activities. The medium income category was weighted, as it is potentially from this group that most of the future holiday makers in Zimbabwe will be drawn. People in the high income group already largely use the recreational areas provided, while people in the low income group will probably not visit recreational areas in great numbers for some time to come. This causes a distortion of the socio-economic data, as 50% of the sample was drawn from medium income suburbs.

Of the 2 523 questionnaires, 631 were allocated to each of the high and the low income groups and 1 261 were allocated to the medium income group. Unfortunately no data on income levels were available from the 1982 census, so suburbs had to be allocated to a particular income category in a totally subjective fashion, based solely upon a pre-existing knowledge of the city and the over-all characteristics of each suburban area. This allocation of suburbs to income categories was later tested against actual data on incomes collected during the survey and was completely validated.

Approximately 100 questionnaires were to be administered in each suburb, so 6 high income suburbs, 6 low income suburbs and 12 medium income suburbs were selected from those suburbs falling within each category, using random number tables. Table 1 lists the suburbs, the number of questionnaires allocated to each, and the number of completed questionnaires received and Figure 1 shows the proportion of the total sample secured from each suburb and income group. The suburbs of Highfield, Mabelreign and Avondale were allocated more than 100 questionnaires in each case, as their populations were significantly higher than those of the other sample suburbs within the same income category. Table 1 indicates the percentage of the total population sampled in each suburb. Generally returns were high. The exceptions were the suburbs of Helensvale, Tynwald and the Industrial area, with significant shortfalls in each case - largely due to scattered populations and the problems which the fieldworkers had in covering these areas. Because of these shortfalls, questionnaires were administered in a further two middle income suburbs, again chosen randomly. The figures for these suburbs of Waterfalls and Eastlea are indicated in brackets in Table 1.

Questionnaires were completed by means of house to house personal interviews with householders. A team of ten fieldworkers, provided by the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management and under the supervision of a National Parks ranger, visited each suburb in turn. The suburb was divided into ten equal areas and each fieldworker allocated a particular area. With three or more randomly chosen starting points and routes drawn onto a street map, each fieldworker was required to systematically sample alternate households until the required number of questionnaires had been completed. If a house was empty, it was omitted from the systematic sampling and the next appropriate house was selected.

Due to time constraints, it was impossible to limit the survey to weekends, when a more balanced population would have been available for interview. Instead, interviews were carried out over weekends and between Wednesday and Friday of each week. The results of the strategy are reflected in the larger number of female respondents in the sample (56%) and the significantly large number of people (54%) classified as "not economically employed" in the occupational classification. From the point of view of the survey on the use of outdoor recreational areas by household groups, these distortions are of little significance. In the analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of different suburbs, however, they should be taken into account. Overall, aggregated data for Harare reflect the socio-economic characteristics of the medium income group, reflecting the heavy weighting given to this category in the sample. For this reason, it is more profitable to investigate all socio-economic characteristics within the framework of the three major income categories, so that contrasts and similarities may be more easily determined.

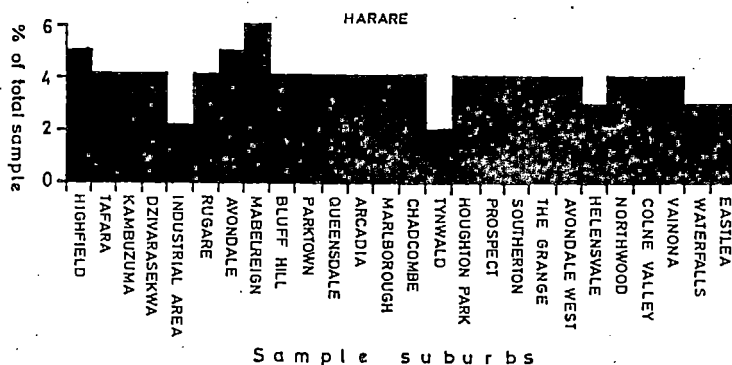
TABLE 11. Allocation of Questionnaires to Selected Macroe Suburbs

CATEGORY	SUBURB	POP- ULATION	NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES			PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION SAMPLED
			ALLOCATED	RETURNED	% OF TOTAL RETURNED	
LOW INCOME	Highfield	74 268	131	129	98	0,02
	Tafara	20 944	100	94	94	0,04
	Kambuzuma	23 396	100	100	100	0,04
	Dzivarasekwa	22 850	100	102	102	0,04
	Industrial Area	2 297	100	37	37	0,16
	Rugara	8 575	100	91	91	0,11
	TOTAL	152 330	631	553	88	0,04
MEDIUM INCOME	Avondale West	2 323	100	89	89	0,38
	Mababeseng	17 262	161	156	97	0,09
	Bluff Hill	1 947	100	88	88	0,43
	Parktown	2 691	100	89	89	0,33
	Queensdale	1 374	100	102	102	0,63
	Arcadia	2 154	100	92	92	0,43
	Hariborough	7 024	100	95	95	0,14
	Chadcombe	3 999	100	99	99	0,23
	Tynwald	2 479	100	59	59	0,24
	Houghton Park	1 853	100	95	95	0,31
	Prospect Hill	4 177	100	100	100	0,24
	Southerton	5 258	100	103	103	0,20
	TOTAL	52 741	1 261	1 167	93	0,22
	(Waterfalls)	7 129	(811)	(801)	(99)	(0,11)
	(Eastlea)	6 335	(81)	(82)	(101)	(0,13)
	(TOTAL	66 203	1 423	1 329	93	0,20)
HIGH INCOME	The Grange	1 245	100	100	100	0,80
	Avondale	8 996	131	125	95	0,14
	Helenvale	2 061	100	62	62	0,30
	Northwood	3 230	100	99	99	0,31
	Colne Valley	3 854	100	98	98	0,23
	Valencia	2 152	100	99	99	0,46
	TOTAL	21 538	631	583	92	0,27

* Field workers carried spare questionnaires and, in some cases, utilised them, so the return was more than 100% in certain suburbs. These questionnaires were included in the analysis, in order to compensate for suburbs where there were shortfalls.

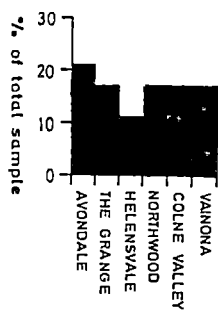
FIGURE 1: THE SAMPLING STRATEGY

(A) THE PROPORTION OF THE HARARE SAMPLE DRAWN FROM EACH SUBURB

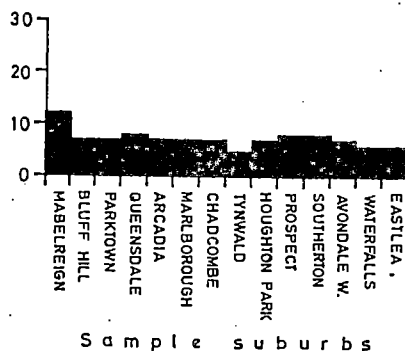


(B) THE PROPORTION OF THE SAMPLE DRAWN FROM EACH SUBURB WITHIN THE THREE INCOME CATEGORIES.

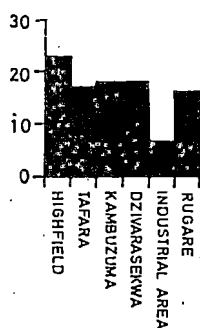
(i) HIGH INCOME SUBURBS



(ii) MEDIUM INCOME SUBURBS



(iii) LOW INCOME SUBURBS



Variables indicating family status in the survey were age, sex, marital status, family size and whether there was a male head of household permanently in residence. Significant variations in family status characteristics occurred between the three income categories (see Figures 2 and 3). Within the high income suburbs, the respondents were generally older, with 48% being over 40, and 35% falling within the 31-40 age category. In contrast, the low income suburbs show a youthful pattern with 60% of the respondents being under 31 and only 20% over 40 years old. Most of the medium income respondents (55%) were between the ages of 21 and 40. These characteristics, to a certain extent, reflect the fact that income increases with age. However, the preponderance of young people in the low income areas probably also reflects the migration of young, single people from rural areas into the city in search of employment, as well as an existing high birth rate in the low income suburbs.

Generally, more women were interviewed than men, but within the high income suburbs the difference in numbers was insignificant with 51% female and 49% male respondents. In both the medium and low income suburbs, women predominated (59% and 56% respectively). When assessed together with the age categories it must be assumed that the predominance of women respondents reflects the fact of younger households, and a preponderance of non-working mothers in the medium and low income suburbs. This assumption is reinforced when age-sex pyramids for the three income categories are constructed (Figure 2C).

Family size also showed variations between the income categories. Family size increased as income decreased. Within the high income category, 76% of households had families of four or less, and less than 5% had families of more than 6. Medium income families tended to be larger, with 57% having families of four or less, and 18% having families of more than 6. The largest families were found in the low income suburbs where 29% had a family size of more than 6 and over 5% had a family size of more than ten.

Most of the respondents in the survey were married (70%) but there appears to be some difference in marital status between the income categories, with high income suburbs having a larger proportion of respondents in the 'married' and 'previously married, now single' categories than had either of the other groups. In contrast, there were larger proportions of single respondents in the medium and low income groups, once again reflecting the relative age composition of the three categories.

Most households (91%) had a male head of the household living permanently at home, and there was very little difference between the three income categories in this social characteristic. Households without a male head, or where the male head did not live permanently at home, were slightly more frequent in medium income families (10%) than in either the low or high income groups, but differences

FIGURE 2: THE AGE AND SEX CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

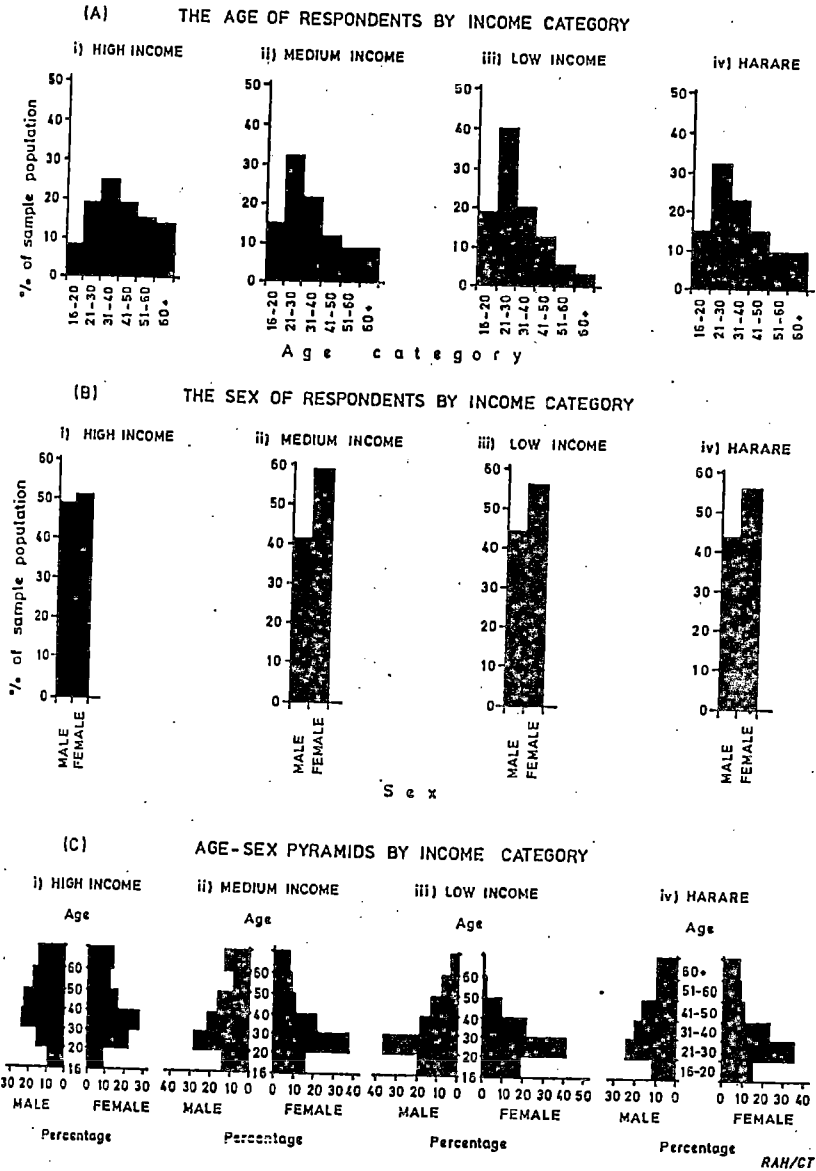
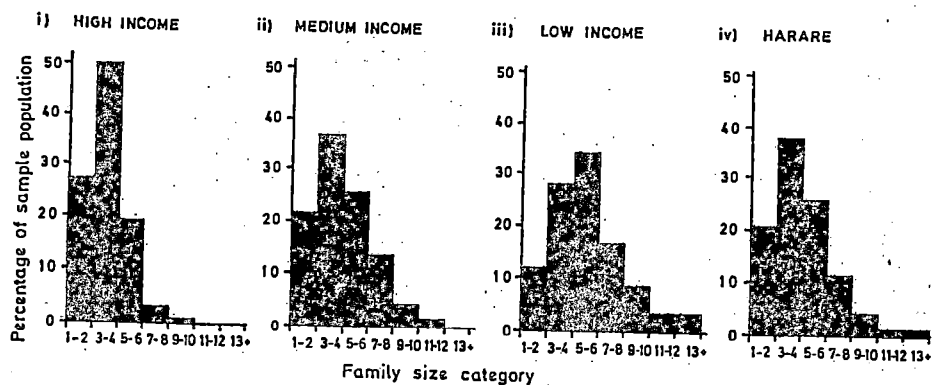
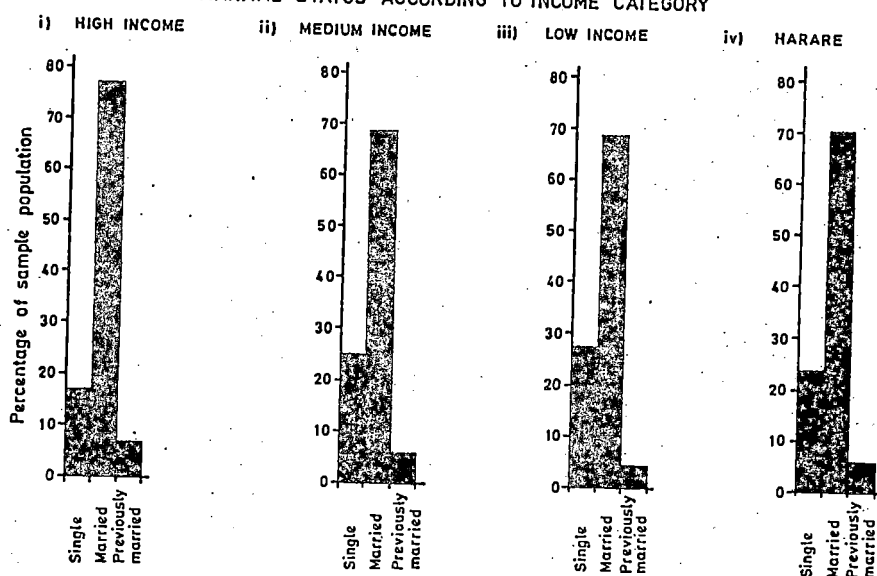


FIGURE 3 : FAMILY SIZE, MARITAL STATUS, AND PRESENCE OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

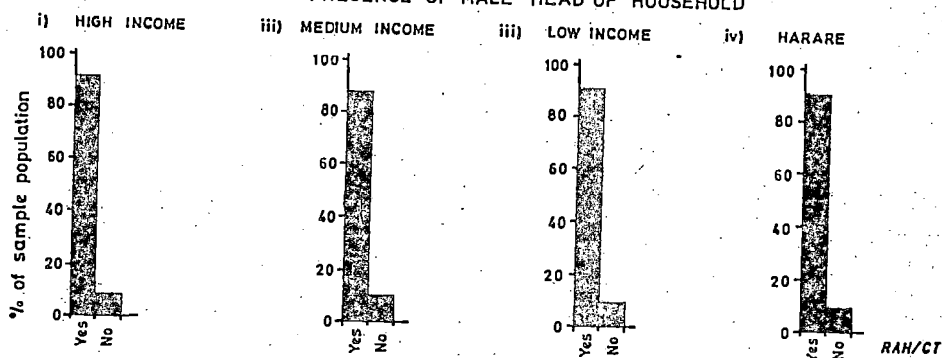
(A) FAMILY SIZE ACCORDING TO INCOME CATEGORY



(B) MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO INCOME CATEGORY



(C) PERMANENT PRESENCE OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD



were minimal. The relationship between family size and the presence or absence of a male head of household living permanently at home was investigated for the Harare sample as a whole (Figure 4) and the use of a Chi square test indicated that there was a significant negative relationship between family size and the permanent presence of a male head of household. The larger the family, the less likely it was to have a male head of household living permanently at home.

Variables assessing ethnic status in the survey were citizenship, home language and race. On average, 90% of the people interviewed were Zimbabweans and 10% were non-citizens resident in Zimbabwe. The survey did not include any significant numbers of visitors to the country. There were, however, variations in the number of non-citizens interviewed in the three different income categories. The largest numbers of non-citizens (16%) were found in the high income group, probably reflecting the number of skilled expatriates entering Zimbabwe on contract terms after independence, to replace skills lost to the country by the emigration of relatively large numbers of white 'Rhodesians' immediately prior to, and just after independence. Non-citizens were also significant in the low income category (13%). This figure probably represented migrant workers from neighbouring countries such as Malawi and Mozambique who had moved into Zimbabwe in search of employment and, in some cases, of security. The lowest number of non-citizens (7%) were interviewed in the middle income suburbs. It appears that non-citizens resident in Harare were, in general, either earning very high incomes or very low incomes. More recent surveys, undertaken after the privilege of 'dual citizenship' was removed, when people had to make a definitive stand regarding Zimbabwean citizenship, might show a different pattern.

The main languages spoken at home by the respondents were Shona (53%) and English (40%), but there were significant variations within the overall pattern, when the different income groups were investigated (Figure 6A). Within the high income areas, English was the dominant home language (79%) with only 17% of Shona speakers and very small numbers of people speaking any other languages. Within the medium income suburbs, 56% of the respondents spoke Shona and 40% spoke English at home. Some 3% were recorded as speaking Ndebele at home but no other languages were of any significance. The low income suburbs were dominated by Shona speakers (84%), but there was a reasonably high percentage (11%) of people who spoke other African languages at home, probably representing the majority of the non-Zimbabwean citizens resident in these suburbs. Ndebele speakers again accounted for 3% of the sample population in the low income suburbs.

FIGURE 4: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY SIZE AND MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS PERMANENT RESIDENCE AT HOME - TOTAL SAMPLE

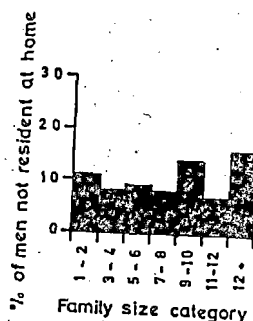
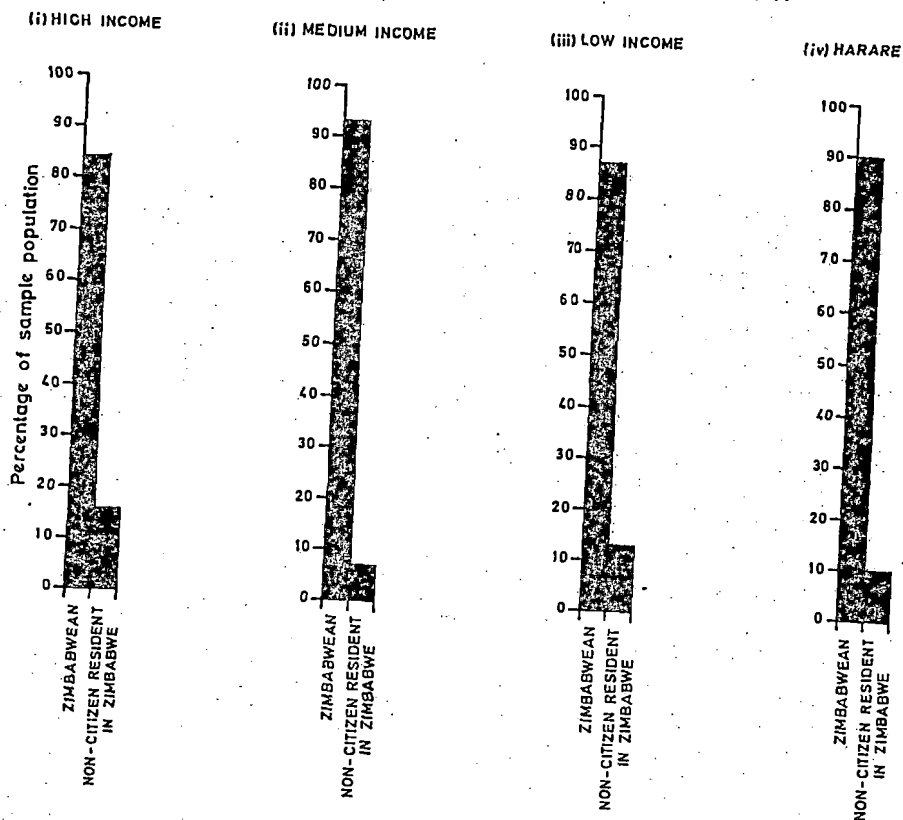


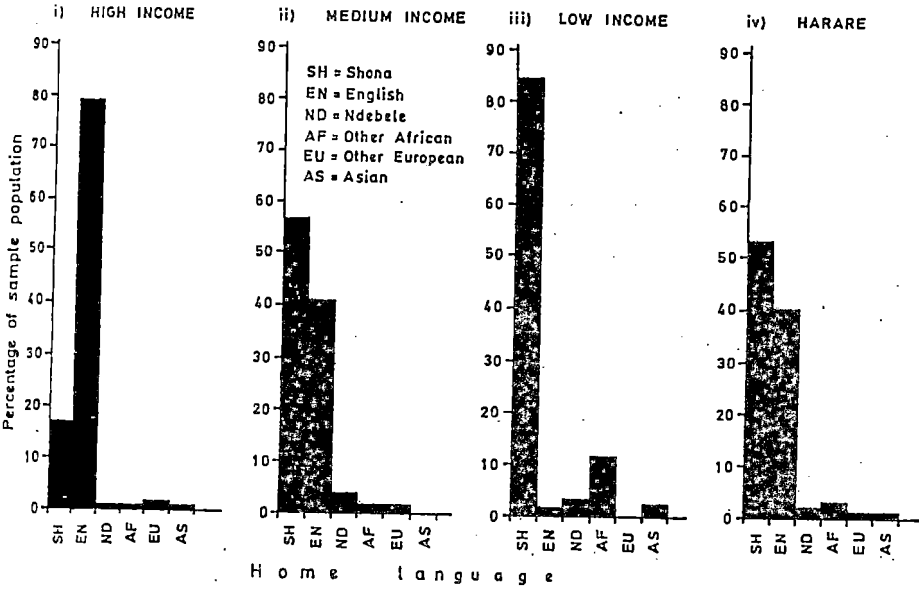
FIGURE 5: CITIZENSHIP ACCORDING TO INCOME CATEGORY



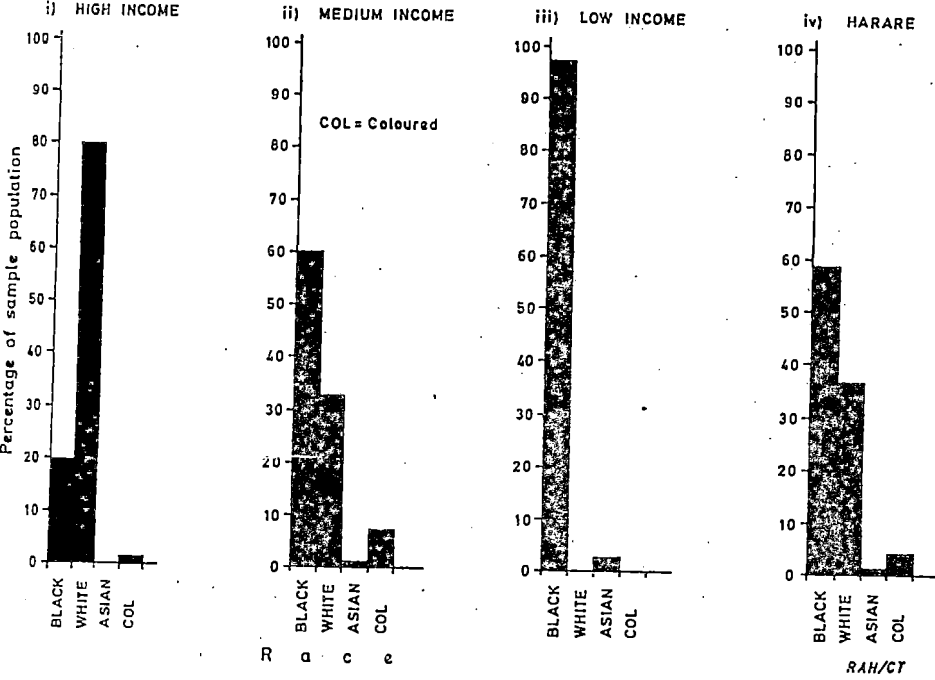
RAH/RM

FIGURE 6 : HOME LANGUAGE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

(A) HOME LANGUAGE BY INCOME GROUPINGS



(B) RACIAL COMPOSITION, BY INCOME GROUPINGS



The years immediately following independence saw a concerted effort to improve the economic position of black Zimbabweans. With the abolition of racially designated residential areas within the city, this improved economic position was reflected by the movement of black Zimbabweans into suburbs which had been formerly designated as 'white' residential areas. An analysis of the racial composition of the three groups of suburbs gives some indication of how great a change in residential patterns had occurred after three years of independence. The total sample population consisted of 59% black, 36% white, 4% coloured and 1% asian respondents, but proportions varied markedly between the groups of suburbs (Figure 6B). Within the high income suburbs, 80% of the respondents were white and 19% black. Black movement into high income suburbs was obviously still extremely limited in 1983. Most residential movement appeared to have taken place into the middle income suburbs, with 60% black residents, 32% white residents and 7% coloured respondents. The asian community was poorly represented in the city sample, but this may well be because many asians still live in the previously designated 'Asian' suburbs and have shown relatively little inclination to move into other residential areas. When sample suburbs were randomly chosen, not one of the previously designated 'Asian' suburbs fell within the sample framework so the asian community is not well represented in the survey. Low income suburbs remained largely black (98%), with a small asian sample of 2%.

Even within the three income groups, there were marked variations in the racial composition of individual suburbs, and this composition is shown in Figure 7. Generally, the suburbs to the south and to the west of the city showed significantly greater mixing, in racial terms, than did those to the east and the north. The reasons for this are not entirely clear but the lower levels of integration in the high-income north-eastern suburbs may well reflect continuing income constraints affecting many Zimbabweans. An additional factor may be familiarity with and perception of different suburban areas. Current research into residential mobility (Harvey, 1983) indicates that, once residential restrictions were removed, black Zimbabweans tended to move, in the greatest numbers, into suburbs adjacent to the previous 'black townships', where presumably they had the greatest knowledge of the available facilities and where they were not cutting themselves off from friends and family members remaining in the high density suburbs. These are merely suppositions, however, and much work remains to be done on the causes of the residential distribution shown in Figure 7.

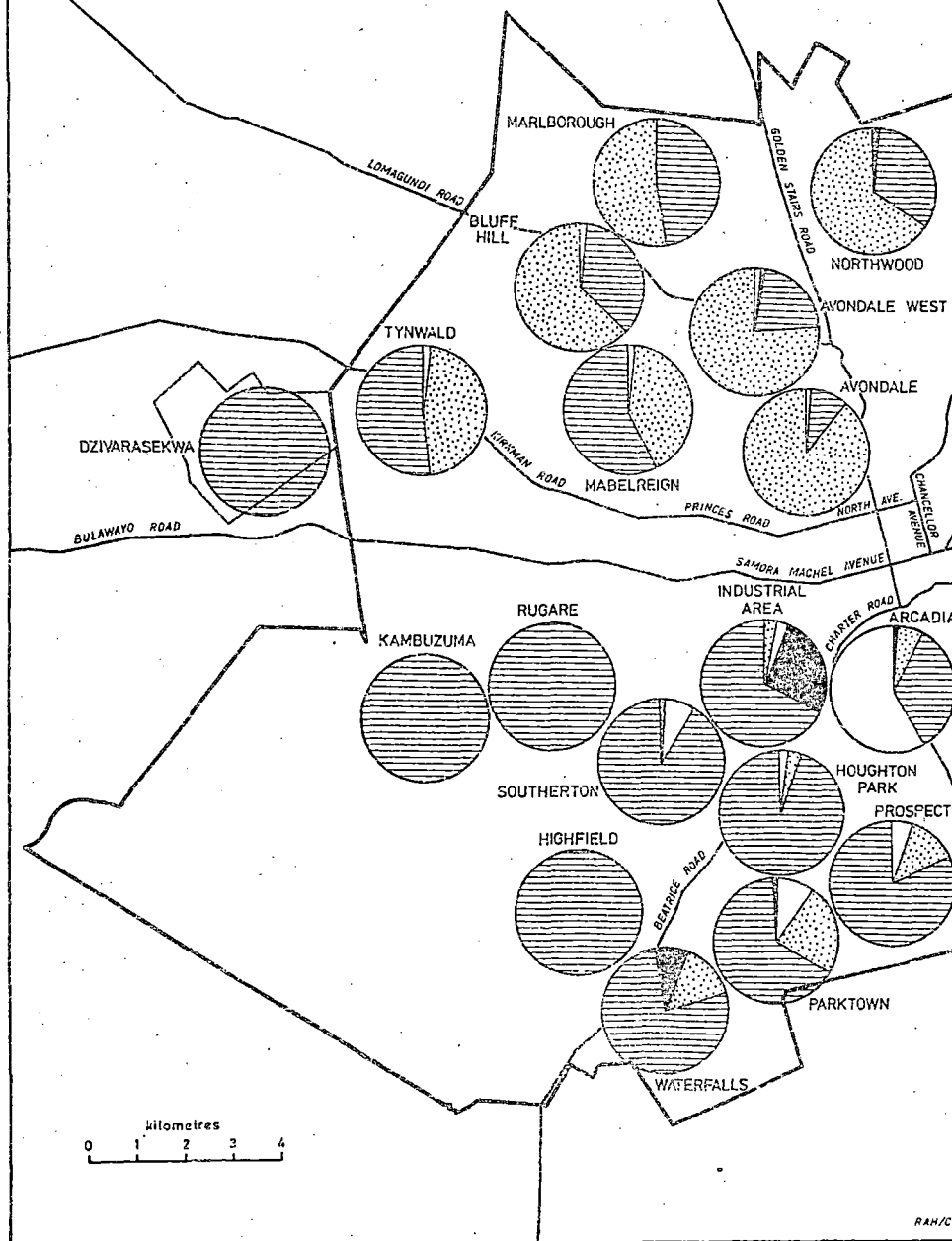
Economic status was indicated by the variables education, occupation and income. Figure 8A shows the educational levels for the entire Harare sample, as well as for the three income groups, and indicates very clearly one of the major problems which has faced the Zimbabwean economy since independence. Overall, qualifications were

largely academic and there was a dearth of technical and professional skills. Within the low income suburbs, educational levels were low, with 67% having, at best, a primary education and almost half of this number not having completed their primary schooling. A further 19% had completed only two years of secondary education. There was a complete absence of technical or professional training amongst this group of respondents. These data reflect the limited provision of educational and training facilities for the black population prior to independence. The three years which had elapsed prior to the survey being undertaken had not been a sufficient length of time for the effect of the new government policies to be reflected in the existing qualifications. While educational levels were generally higher in the middle income suburbs, with 29% having completed four years of secondary schooling and 15% having completed six years, qualifications were still largely academic in nature. Less than 3% of the sample population held technical qualifications of any type, compared with 6% with degrees and 1,5% with post-graduate or higher degrees. This lack of skilled technical qualifications, in an income group where they might be expected to predominate, highlights one of the major constraints to Zimbabwean economic development and clearly indicates the necessity of man-power training and the importance of technical education to the country.

It was only in the high income sample that all categories of commercial and technical training were represented, but even within this group the levels were low, and there was still a marked emphasis upon academic qualifications with 30% of the respondents having completed six years of secondary education, 22% with degrees and 8% with higher degrees, while only 9% held a technical diploma of any type.

Educational levels for individual suburbs were plotted (Figure 9) and an interesting point arose when these data were compared with income levels for the same suburbs (Figure 11). Those suburbs with the highest proportions of technical and commercial qualifications were also the suburbs with the highest income levels, indicating the premium being paid by commerce and industry in order to retain skilled technical staff. This analysis indicates that, while academic levels need to be raised substantially in the low income sectors, they are more than adequate for the rest of the population. A total of 12% of the sample population with degrees or post graduate degrees is a very adequate level for a developing country. On the other hand, a total of only 4% with commercial or technical qualifications poses real developmental problems and it is in this field that man-power training should be concentrated.

GREATER HARARE
FIGURE 7: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF
SELECTED SUBURBS



RAH/C

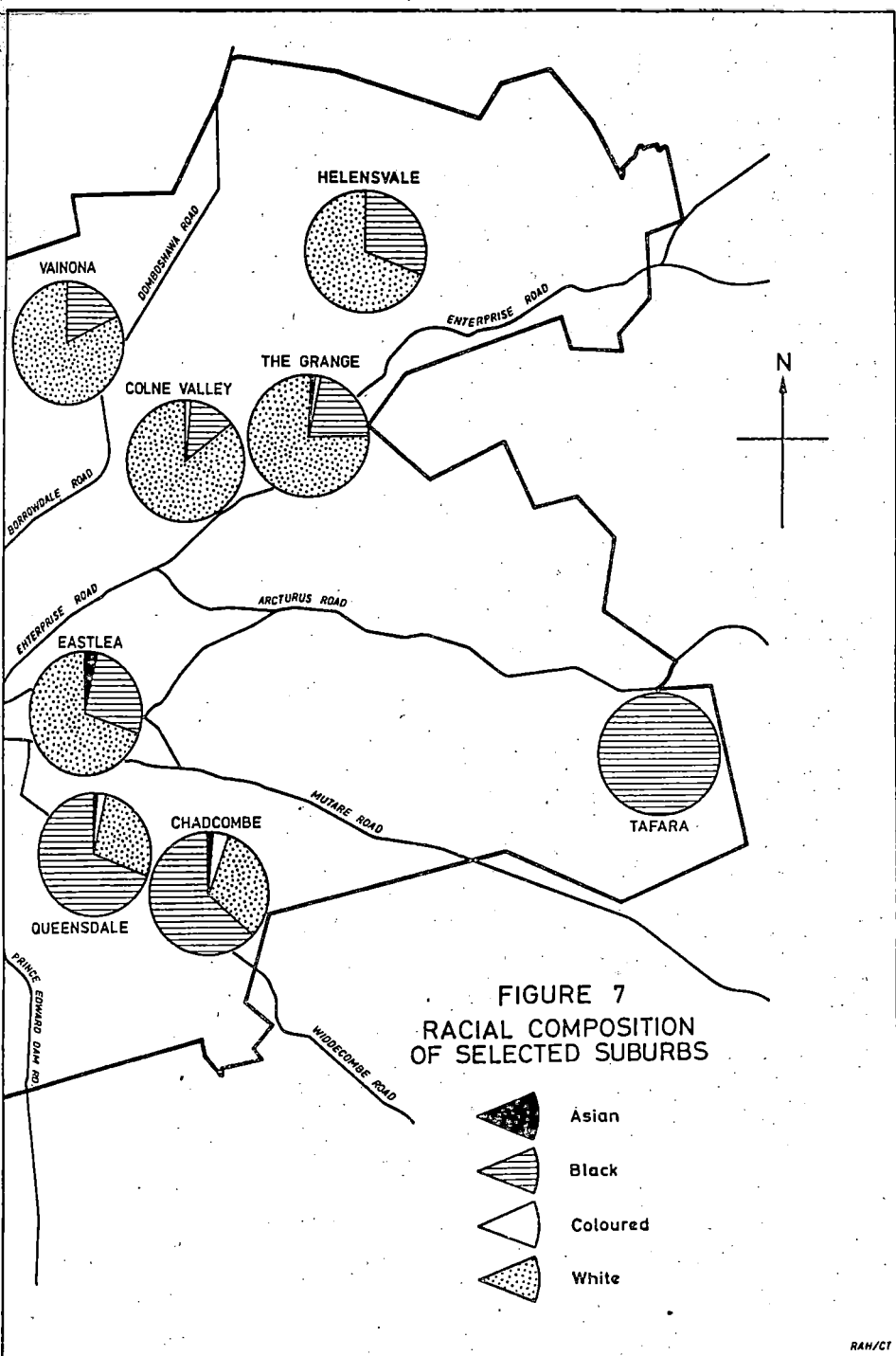
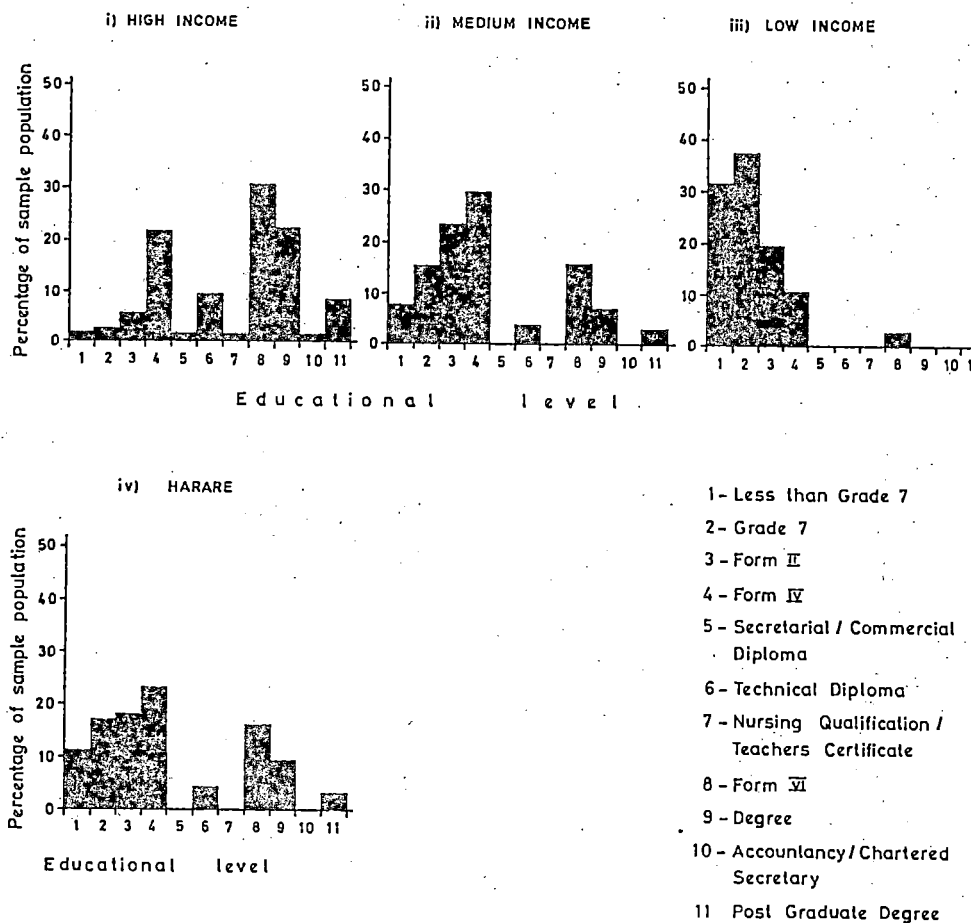


FIGURE 8: EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND INCOME

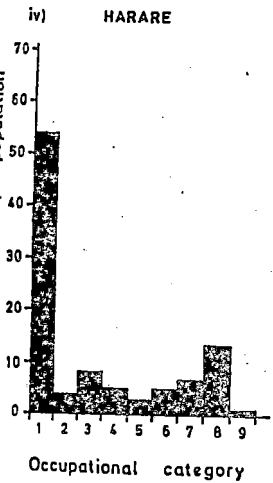
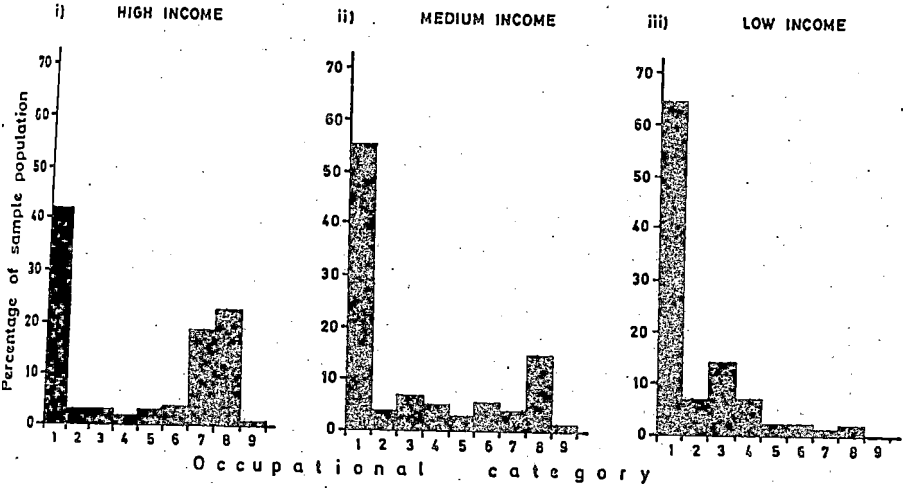
(A) EDUCATIONAL LEVELS



RAH/CT

FIGURE 8
(B)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES



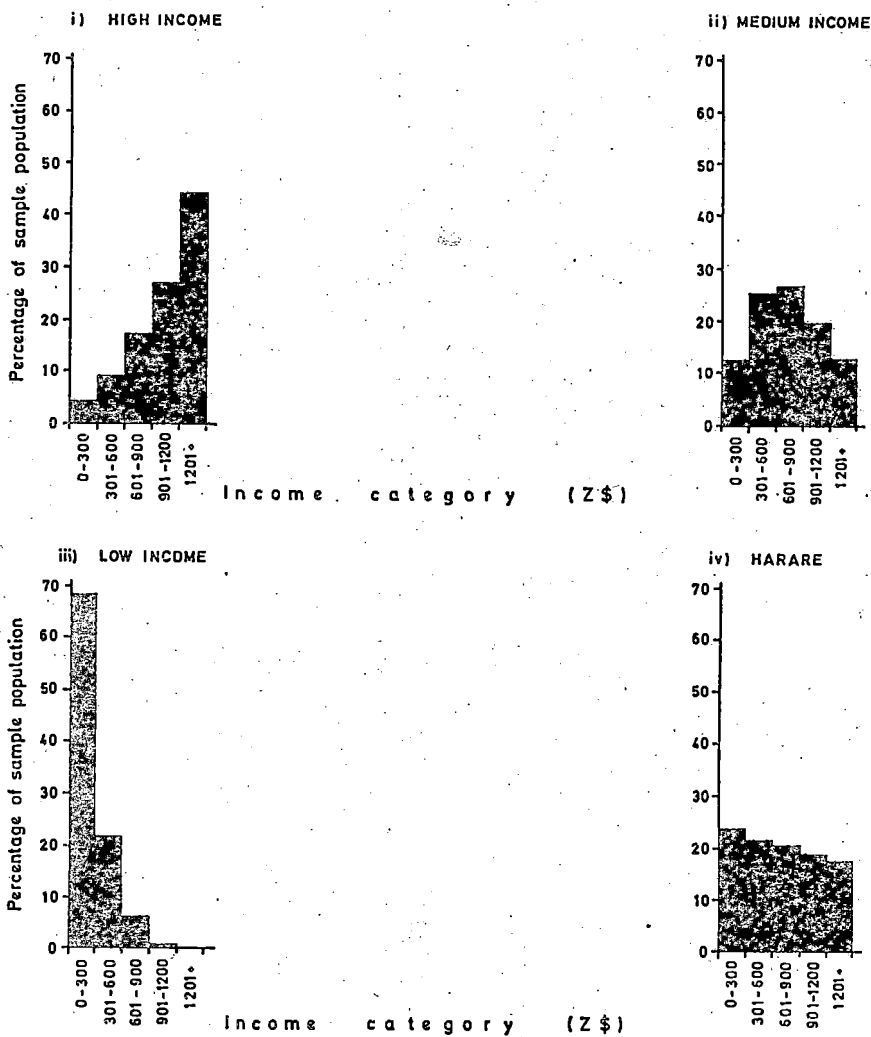
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

- 1 Not economically employed
- 2 Self employed
- 3 Production / Transport worker
- 4 Service worker
- 5 Sales person
- 6 Clerical worker
- 7 Administration / Management
- 8 Professional / Technical
- 9 Agricultural worker / Farmer

RAH/CT

FIGURE 8
(C)

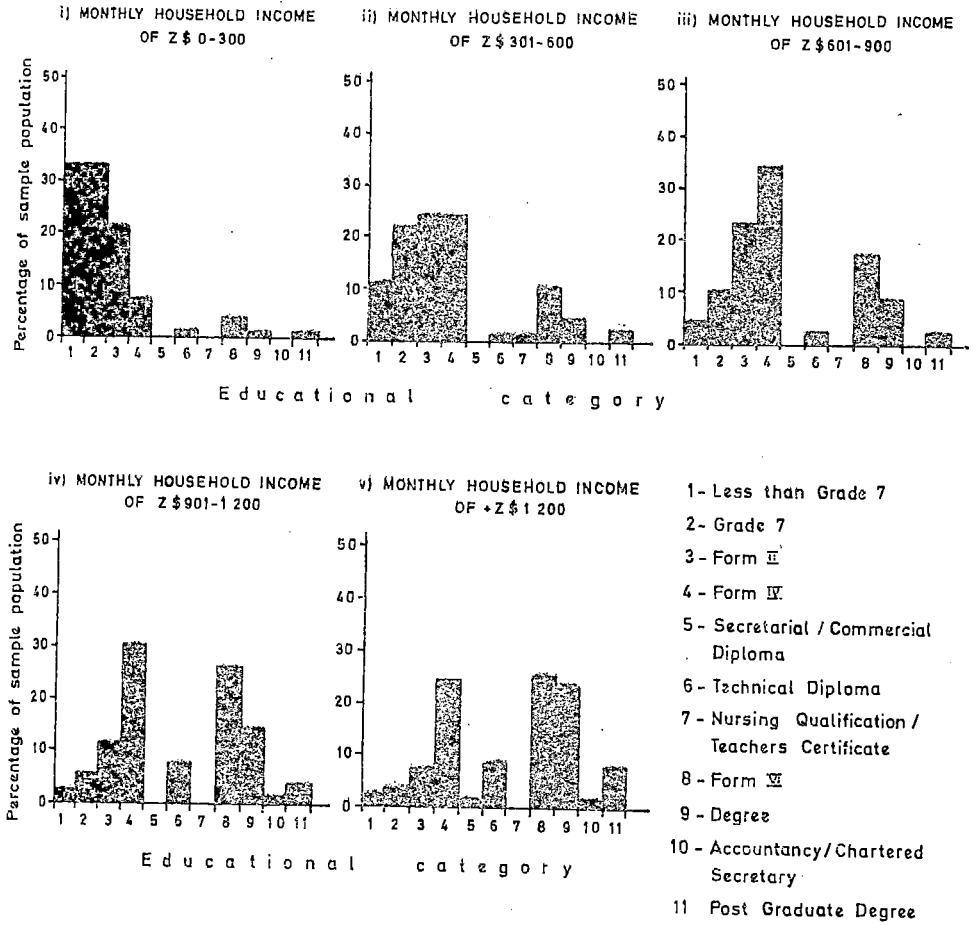
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME



RAH/CT

FIGURE 8

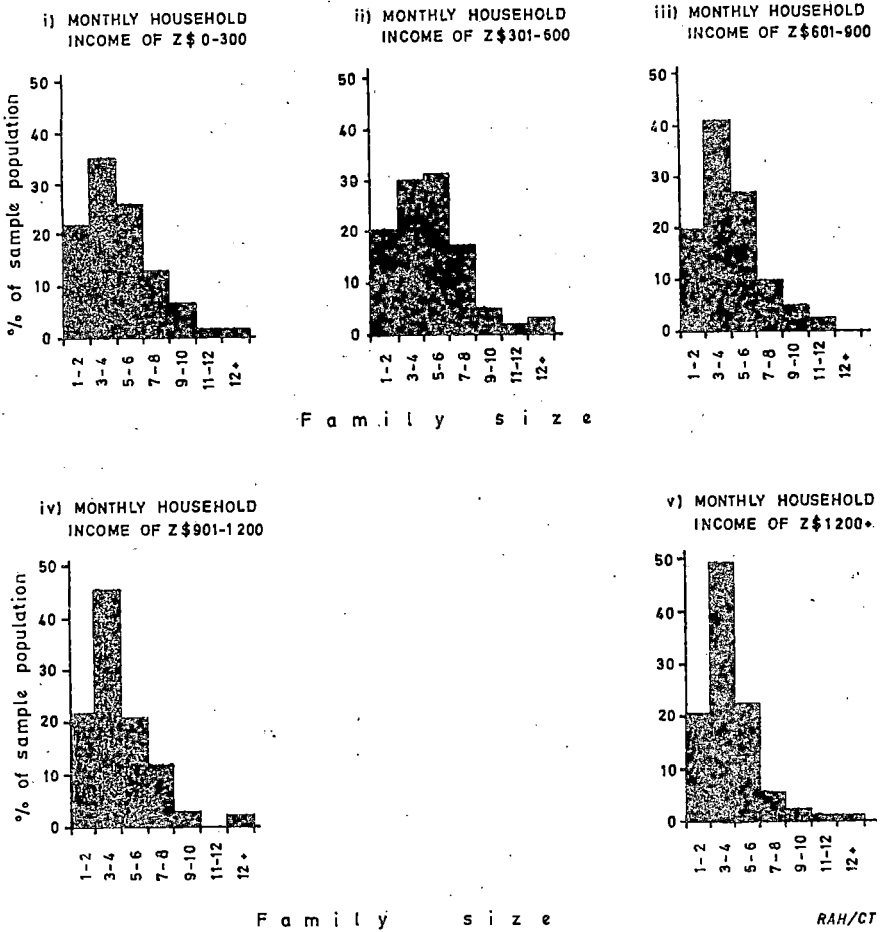
(D) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES AND MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOMES



RAH/CT

FIGURE 8

(E) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY SIZE AND MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME



Investigation of the occupational categories within the sample areas reinforces the impressions gained from the educational qualifications. Within low income suburbs, some 64% of the respondents were unemployed and a further 7% were self employed. Within certain individual suburbs (Figure 10) these figures were even higher. For example Rugare had 73% either unemployed or self employed, Kambuzuma had 78% and Highfield had 80%. While some of these respondents may represent non-working women, only 56% of the low income sample consisted of women, so it is obvious that there were a substantial number of men in the low income suburbs who were existing outside the market economy. Production and transport (14%) and service (7%) were the main occupational categories, very largely reflecting the employment of unskilled workers. Employment in other categories was minimal.

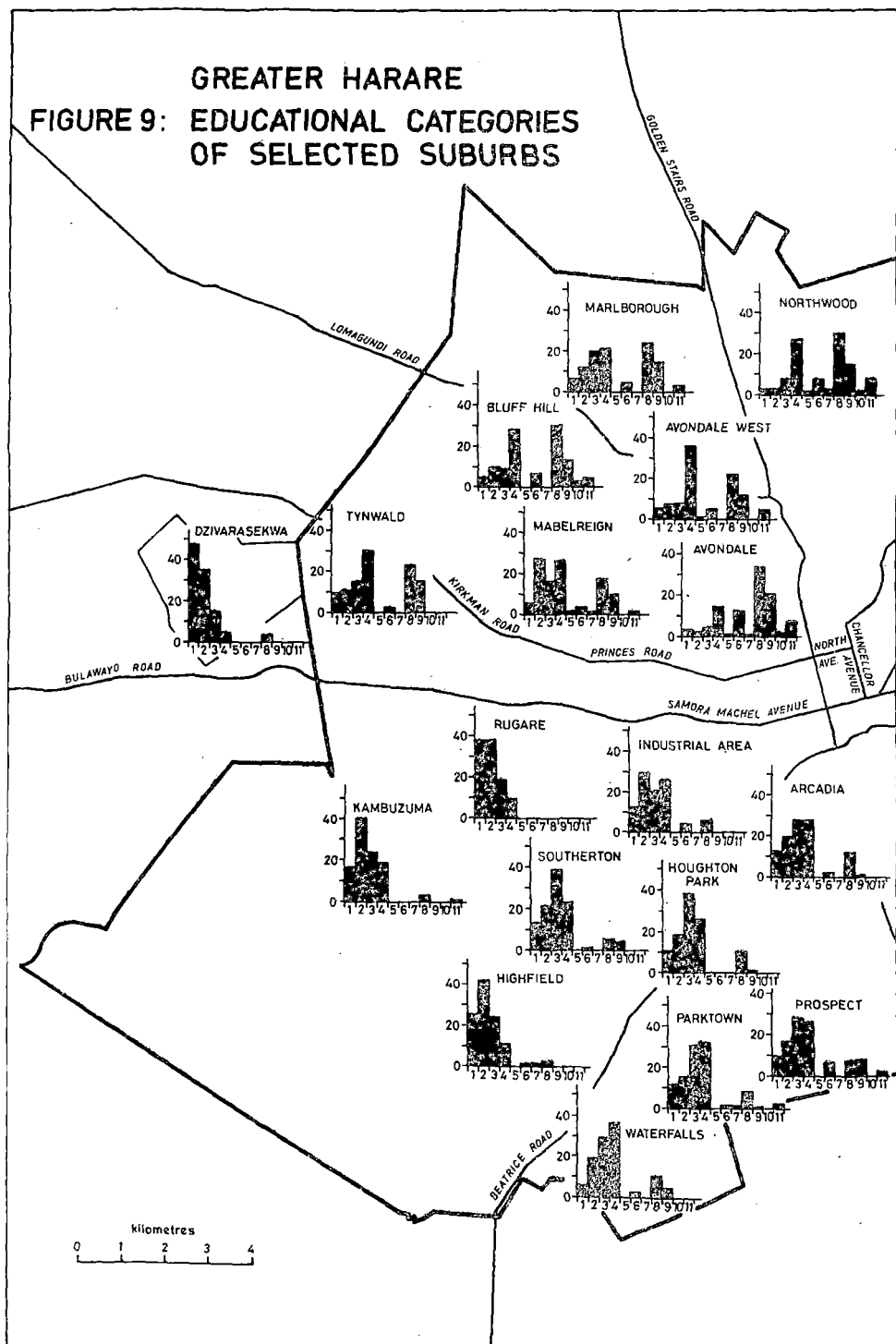
Within the medium income suburbs, the numbers of unemployed respondents dropped to 55% with some 4% being self employed. As 59% of the respondents in this income category were female, the unemployed figures probably very largely represent non-working women. Certainly, male unemployment did not seem to be a significant factor in medium income suburbs. Most workers in the medium income suburbs (15%) were employed in the professional/technical category, reflecting the relatively high educational levels reached. However, Figure 10 indicates the marked variation in occupational levels between individual medium income suburbs.

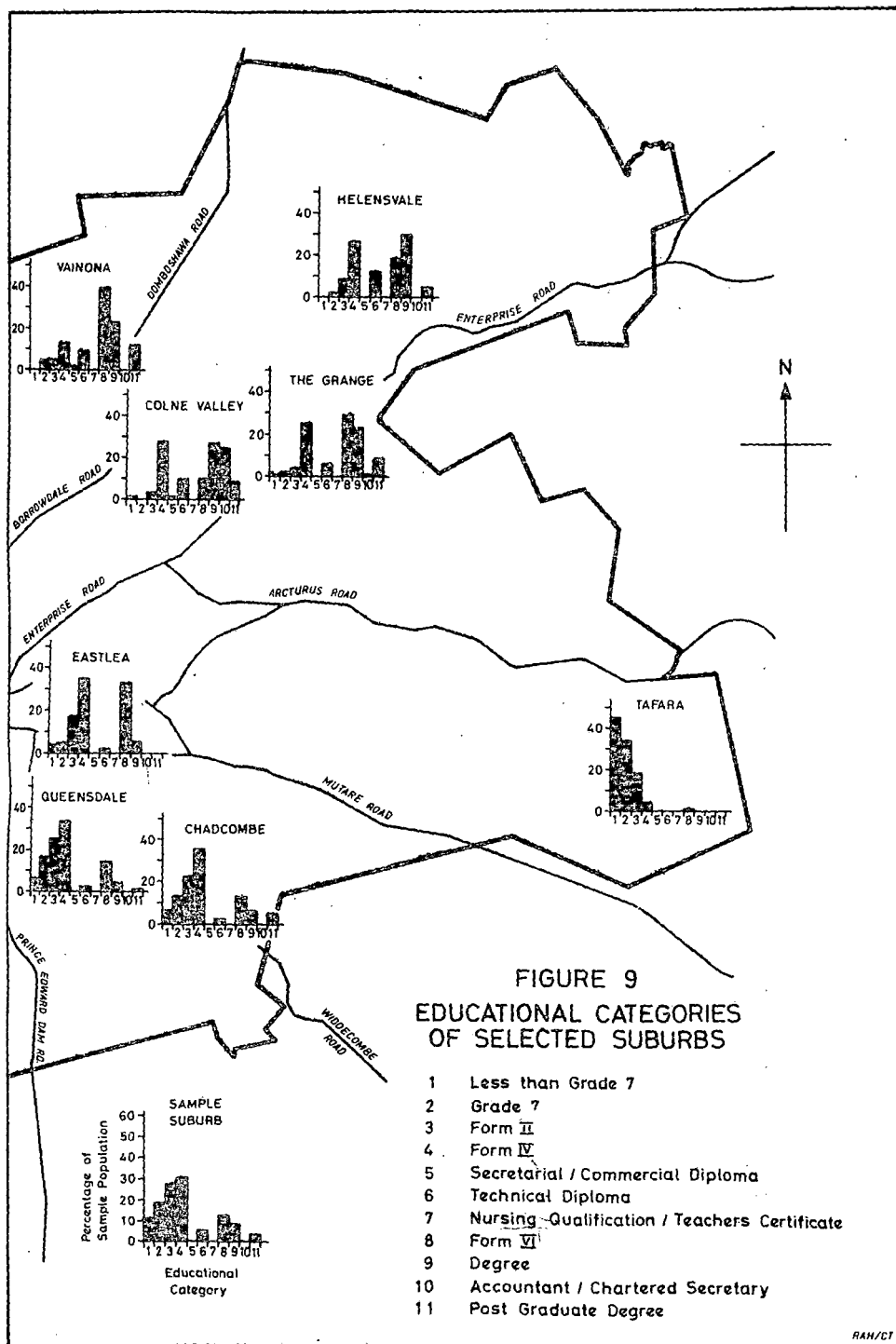
Within the high income suburbs, only 42% of the respondents were not economically employed and 3% were self employed. This figure is less than that of the total percentage of women interviewed in the sample (51%) and as the sample included a significant number of retired men, the results indicate that there were a substantial number of working women in the high income suburbs. Major occupational categories were professional/technical (23%) and administration/management (19%). Generally, a comparison of individual suburbs indicated that the lowest percentages of unemployed respondents corresponded with the highest household incomes. It would appear that female employment contributed substantially to household incomes within these suburbs.

Incomes have risen significantly in all sectors of the community, and particularly within the low income groups, since 1983. However, relative differences between the groups are still significant and the results of the 1983 survey are striking enough to warrant comment. For Harare, as a whole, respondents were distributed relatively evenly between the five income categories, with 23% having monthly incomes of over Z\$1 200 per month. However, when incomes were investigated according to the groups of suburbs (Figure 8C) and according to the individual suburbs (Figure 11) marked variations were apparent.

GREATER HARARE

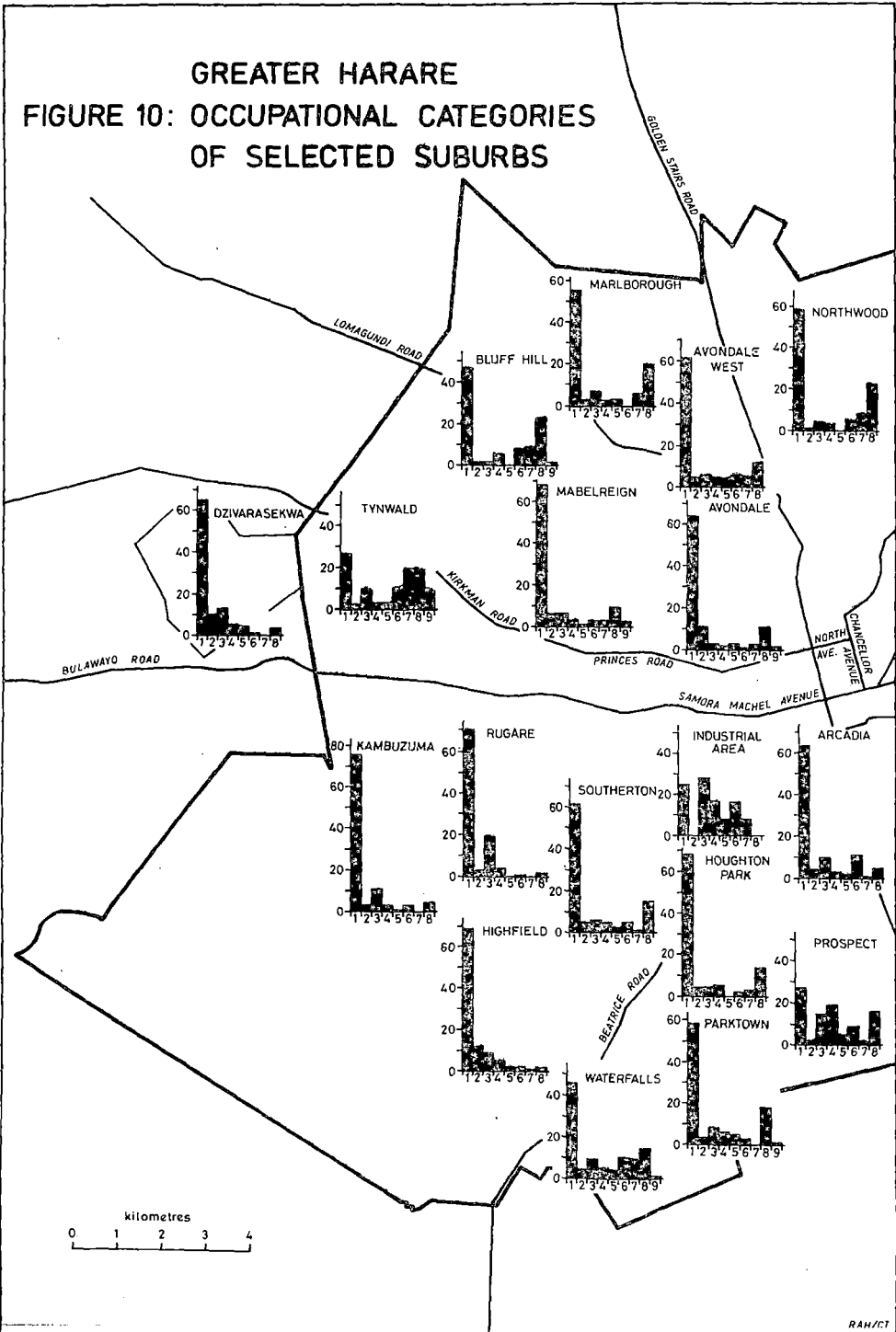
FIGURE 9: EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES OF SELECTED SUBURBS



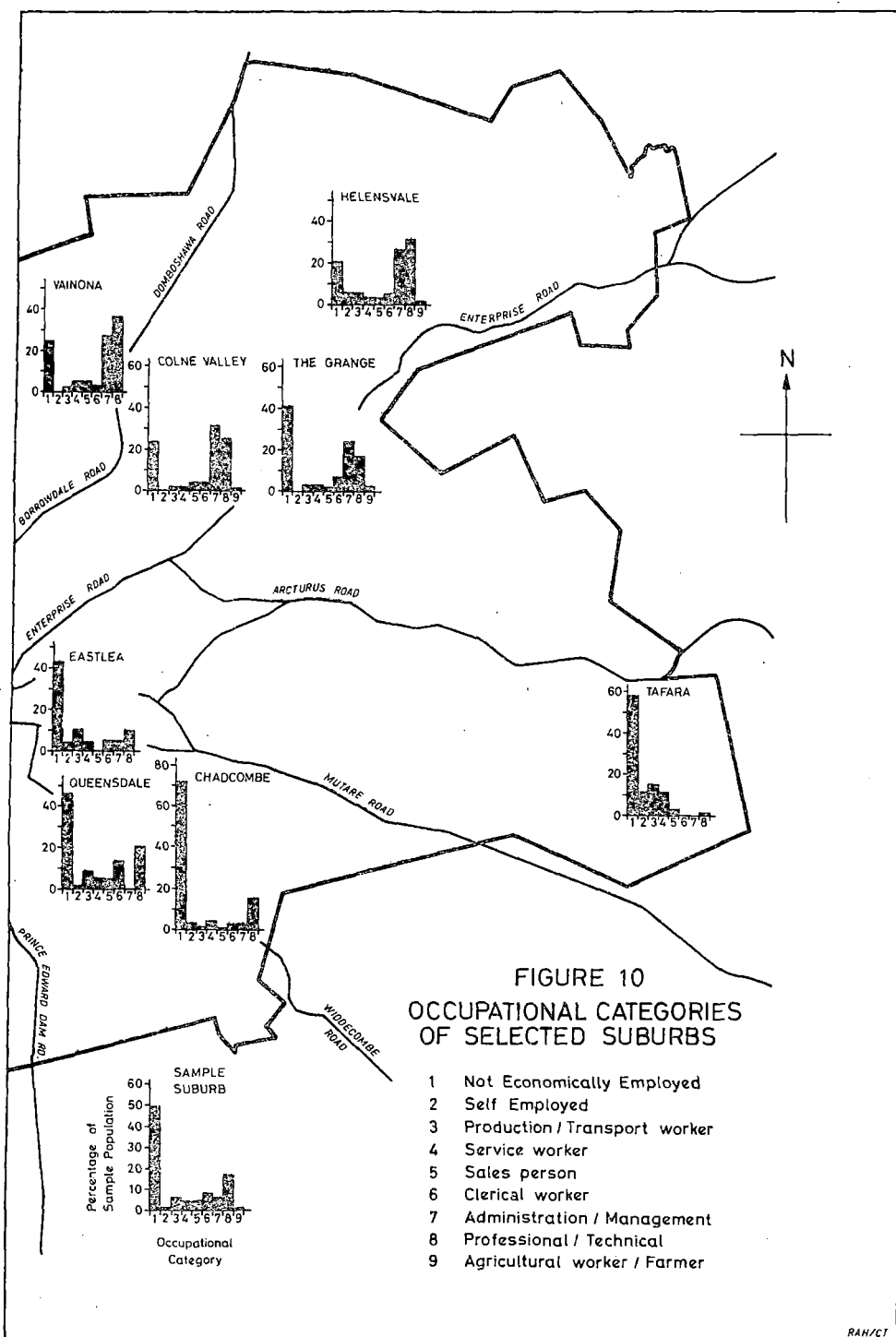


GREATER HARARE

FIGURE 10: OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF SELECTED SUBURBS

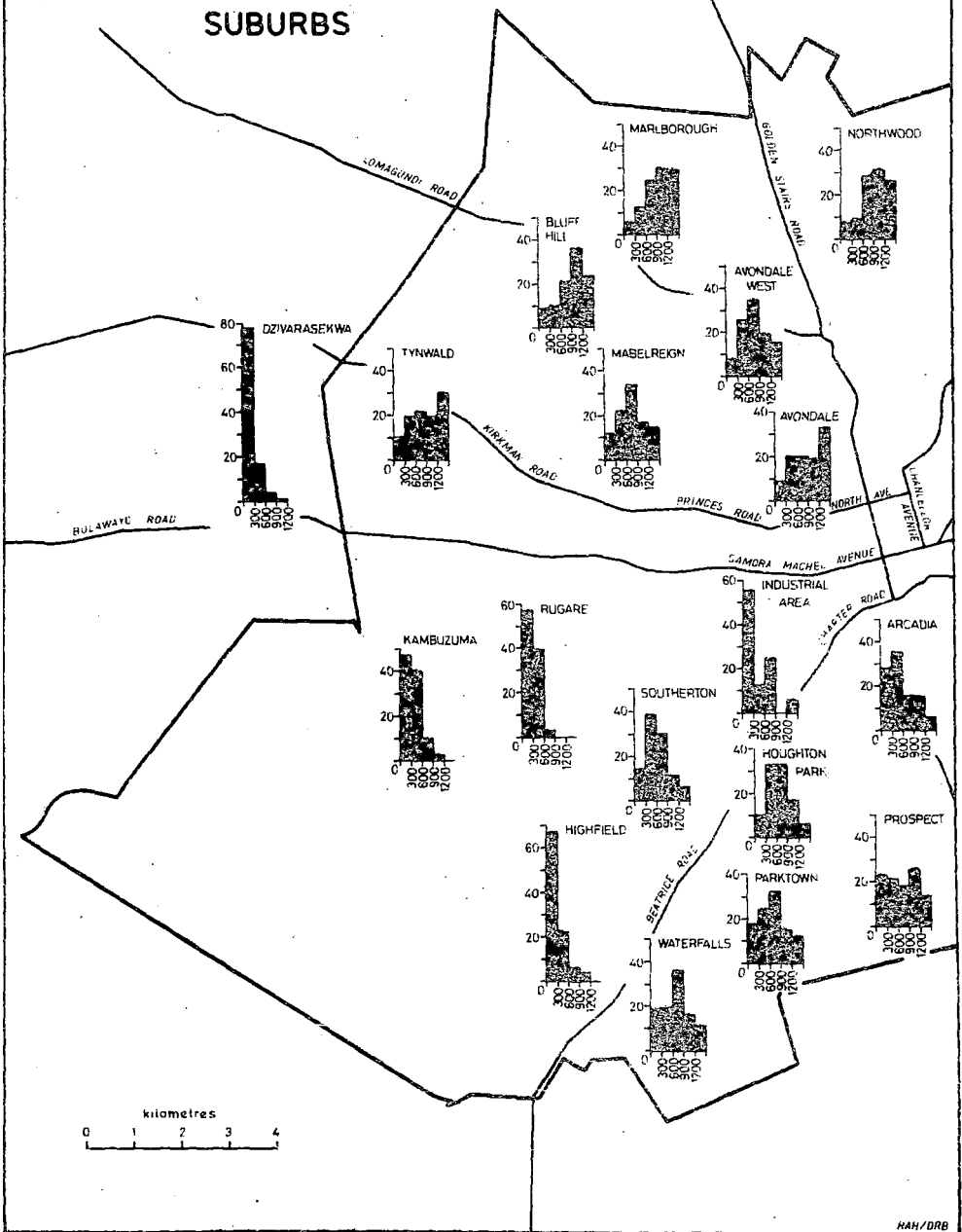


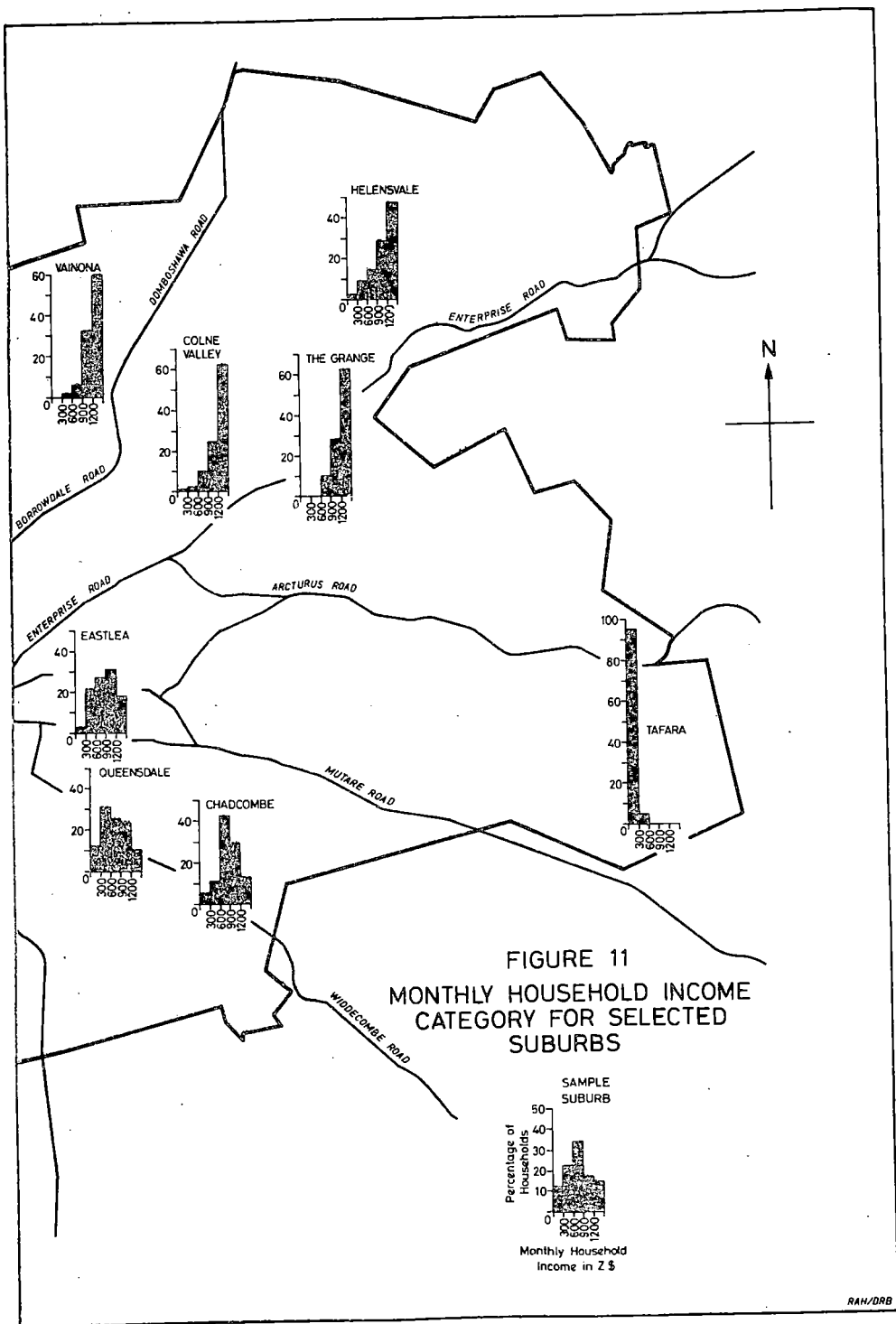
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GREATER HARARE
FIGURE 11: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME
CATEGORY FOR SELECTED
SUBURBS





Within the low income suburbs, 69% of the respondents had household incomes of less than Z\$300 per month. The medium income category showed the greatest range of incomes, but the majority (53%) had monthly household incomes ranging between Z\$300 and Z\$900.

There was a strong relationship between income and educational levels, which can be seen by comparing Figures 9 and 11 and which is summarised in Figure 8D. This relationship is, of course, to be expected. Of more concern is the relationship between income levels and family size indicated in Figure 8E. Family size tends to be larger amongst those groups with lower monthly household incomes. The higher the monthly household income, the more likely families are to consist of four or less members. This means that differences in relative affluence between low and high income families is far more marked than monthly household income differences would indicate.

The analysis of the survey data showed marked socio-economic differences between the groups of high, medium and low income suburbs and between individual suburbs. It appears that only within the medium income suburbs were government policies beginning to take effect by the end of 1983. Conditions in the low income suburbs remained much as they were prior to 1980 (Kay and Smout, 1977 pp 50-56), and high income suburbs showed only limited changes.

One of the cornerstones of government policy at independence was to redress the marked inherited imbalances between the racial groups. It is therefore of importance to look at certain of the socio-economic variables as they occur within racial groups, rather than merely to analyse them by suburban areas.

Table 2 shows the racial composition of the sample population. Because of the weighting of middle income suburbs and because the same number of questionnaires were allocated to both high income and low income suburbs, a higher percentage of whites and a lower percentage of blacks were interviewed than would have been the case if questionnaires had been allocated on a racial basis. The asian sample was so small (24) that no statistically valid conclusions can be drawn concerning the socio-economic characteristics of this group, and they have been omitted from the following discussion.

Figure 12A shows the age categories of the sample populations. It is noticeable that there was a youthful black population with 63% under the age of 31. In contrast, the white population was much older with 56% being over 40 years of age and only 19% under 31. The coloured sample was reasonably youthful, with 55% falling within the 20-41 years of age category.

The age composition was also reflected in the marital status of the sample population, indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 2: Racial Composition of Sample Population

	<u>Male %</u>	<u>Female %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Black	24,5	34,2	58,7
White	17,3	19,2	36,5
Asian	0,7	0,3	1,0
Coloured	1,5	2,3	3,8
TOTAL	44,0	56,0	100,0

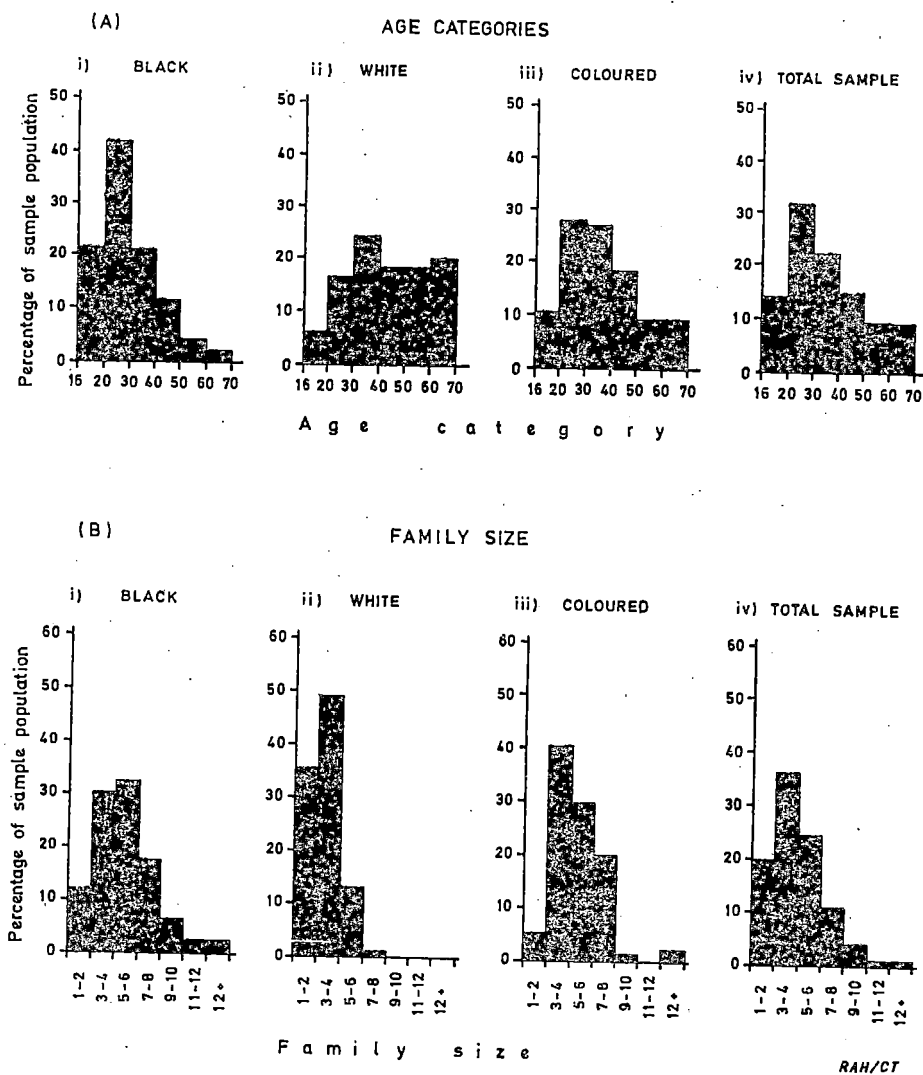
TABLE 3: Marital Status of the Different Ethnic Groups

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Coloured</u>
% Single	30,8	12,5	21,5
% Married	65,9	77,9	67,7
% Previously married and now single	3,3	9,6	10,8
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

There were far fewer single respondents amongst the white sample than in the other two groups. In contrast, there were significantly fewer widows, widowers or divorcees amongst the black sample than in either of the other groups. Within both the black and white samples, only about 8,5% of the households were without a male household head living permanently at home. In contrast, within the coloured sample, the figure rose to 24%.

Family size varied considerably between the racial groups (Figure 12B). Black families were, on average, smaller in size than might have been expected in a Third World situation, with 62% falling within the three to six category. White families were generally smaller, with the vast majority (86%) consisting of four people or less. Coloured families were the largest, with 41% falling within the three to four person category and a further 50% consisting of families of between five and eight. It was within this group that the absence of the male household head was particularly high (24%).

FIGURE 12: AGE AND FAMILY SIZE ACCORDING TO RACIAL GROUPS



44

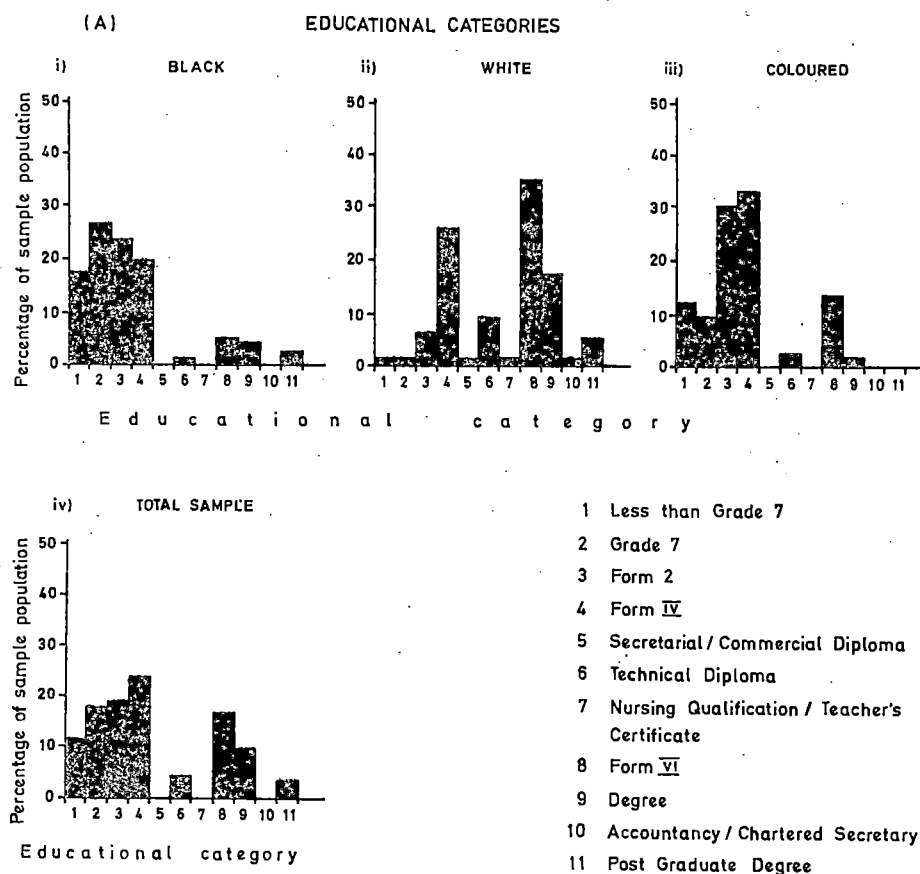
Educational qualifications varied markedly between the racial groups (Figure 13A) with the greatest difference being between the black and the white groups. Approximately 45% of the black respondents had no more than a rudimentary primary education and a further 44% had only four years of secondary education. Commercial and technical training within this group was negligible. In contrast, 35% of the white sample had six years of secondary education, 23% had degrees and post graduate degrees and 12% had some form of technical or commercial training. The coloured sample contained 13% who had completed six years of secondary schooling and 2% with technical training.

Disparities in education were reflected in the occupational categories of each racial group (Figure 13B) where unemployment rates amongst the black sample were particularly high (58%) compared with the other ethnic groups. These disparities were even more evident when monthly household income was assessed by ethnic group (Figure 14). Here too, the major contrast was between the black and the white samples with 35% of the black sample earning less than Z\$300 per month, while 37% of the white sample had a monthly household income of over Z\$1 200 per month. The coloured community had incomes in the medium range.

This analysis indicates that significant socio-economic differences existed in Harare in 1983, not only between suburban areas but also between racial groups. The first three years of independence, while bringing about some changes in socio-economic status, particularly in the black community, and especially at the medium income level, had not really caused significant changes in the inherited social and economic order. This is not surprising as three years is a very short period of time in which to effect social change. Improvements in educational and training standards and the associated changes in employment categories, income levels and family structure will only really become evident during the next five year period, as the post-independence generation of school children begins to enter the job market and as the new medium and high income black Zimbabwean consolidates his position in the city.

The present study should be seen as a base-line survey, recording the socio-economic characteristics of Harare soon after independence, when only limited changes had taken place. Further surveys, within the next two or three years will begin to indicate the degree of success of current Zimbabwean government policies.

FIGURE 13: EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES ACCORDING TO RACIAL GROUP

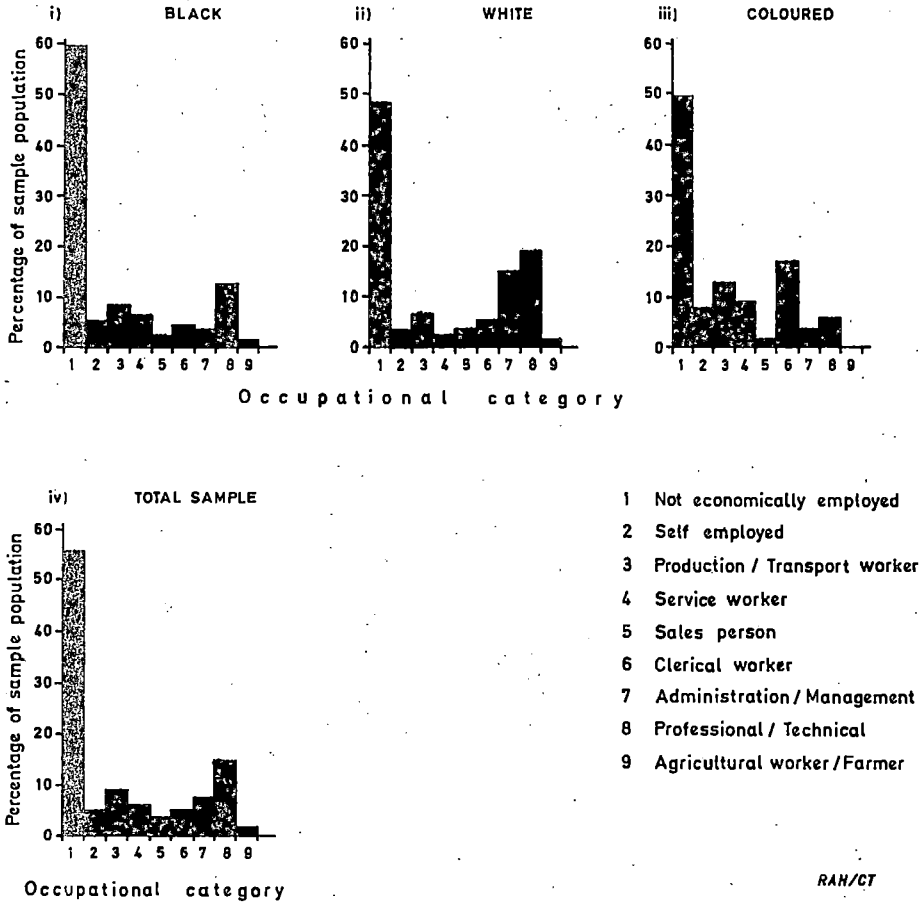


RAH/CT

FIGURE 13

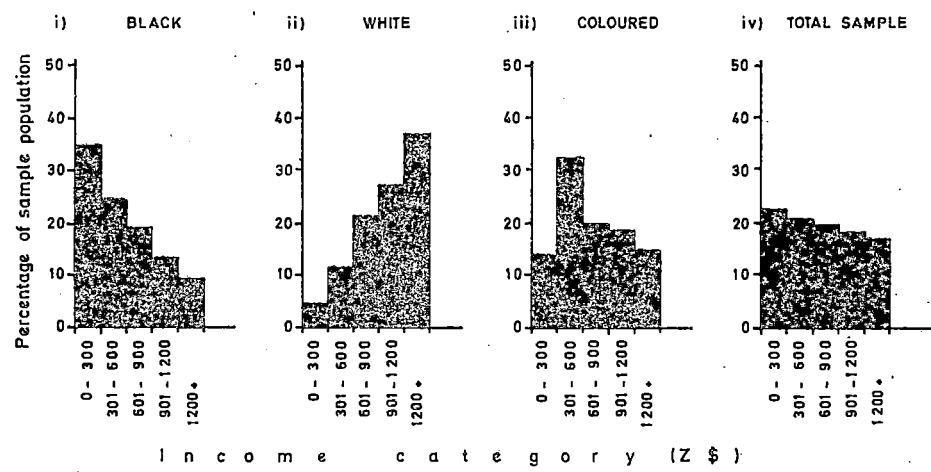
(B)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES



RAH/CT

FIGURE 14: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME ACCORDING TO RACIAL GROUP



RAH/CT

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